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This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa" of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa" or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot" is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks" hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot" or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous, and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jäschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámás who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Báráwar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
674 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.
797 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
● 588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
797 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.
688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
797 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.
792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. "But," said she, "it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire.

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also.

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one
588 who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!

775 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*,
792 for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

842 587 562 357 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it is the husband's fault and they usually take in another man, in the hope that there will be children. Such a man is known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 177 If a Tibetan woman marries a Mohammedan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 593 588 The children in Tibet are betrothed when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-